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All letters and communications must be post paid. The rule is imperative, in order to shield us from the frequent impositions of our enemies. Those, therefore, who wish their letters to be taken out of the Post Office by us, will be careful to pay their post.

REFUGES OF OPPRESSION.

STATE OF CONNECTICUT.

To the Senate and House of Representatives in General Assembly convened.

The Memorial of the undersigned, respectfully sheweth:

That your memorialists have for several years viewed with deep concern, the increase of the colored population in this State, and especially in New Haven, and other large towns.

Your memorialists feel no desire to discuss questions of ethics, or of political economy. It is enough for their present purpose to know, that States and communities, like individuals, have the right of adopting all measures which are necessary for self-preservation. They do not believe that any restrictions legitimately arising from such a source, will be found inconsistent with the precepts of religion or morality. There can be nothing in the order of Providence, rightly considered, which is incompatible with sound policy, or the duty which we owe to ourselves, to fellow citizens, and to mankind.

Without presuming to arraign that philanthropy which seeks its objects of relief among other nations and other races of the human family; or doubting that current benevolence, which does neither office, emolument, or notoriety, in remuneration for its 'works of loving kindness,' regardless of the consequences which may result from their acts to their own kindred and species; they will content themselves with reminding those, whose duty requires them to watch over the general welfare of their fellow citizens, of that charity which 'begins at home.'

An enlightened Legislature cannot be indifferent to the morals of a State; for morality is the only sure foundation of liberty. Hence, all free and well informed communities have endeavored, not only to suppress vice and licentiousness within their own borders, but to prevent their introduction from other countries.

Any attempt to show, that the introduction of persons of color into a community of whites, has ever been productive of moral and political evils, would be useless. It is a truth too well established by history, and our own experience, to require comment. Whether of color, the negro and 'his kind,' have ever been blots on the fair face of civilized society, and corroding cankers to a free State. The Albigenses created different races of men as well as of other animals; and endowed them with differing faculties, propensities and antipathies. Why, it is not our province to inquire; much less have we power to effect a change. The negro may be inferior to the white man, or the white man to the negro. They have never long inhabited our country upon any other terms or conditions. And if the great lights of experience and observation reflect truth, the amalgamation of nations, which is to effect such a change, is far distant. They have not yet consented to be equal.

Of the colored population, legally settled among us, we would say nothing injurious or unkind. The habits and education of some, may possibly claim for them a superior standing to those of the same color who have been pouring into the State from abroad.

It is the continued influx of this population into the State, from other States and countries, to which we would particularly invite attention.

The colored population of New Haven, consisting of the negro and his varieties, may be estimated at not much less than seven hundred. Of this number, not one half are legal inhabitants. Many are convicts from State prisons, and a portion are renegade slaves from the south; some, it is believed, from the West Indies.

The effects produced upon the peace and good order of society, by domesticating such persons, are too obvious, and have been too sensibly felt, to require illustration. Not a week hardly a day passes, that they are not implicated in the violation of some law. Assaults and batteries, insolence to the whites, compelling a breach of the peace; riots in the streets, petty thefts, and continual trespasses upon property, are such common occurrences, resulting from the license they enjoy, that they have ceased to be mere subjects of remark. It is but recently that a band of negroes paraded the streets of New Haven, armed with clubs, pistols, and dirks, with the avowed purpose of preventing the law of the land from being enforced against one of the species. Upon being accosted by an officer of justice, and commanded to retire peacefully to their homes, their only reply consisted of abuse, and threats of personal violence. The law was overshadowed; and the officer consulted his own safety in a timely retreat.

If they have rights, we humbly hope it is not too late to presume that the white man, also, the only legal native American citizen, whom we shall ever consent to acknowledge, may be permitted to suggest that he has some rights.

Among these, it is submitted that we have—

The right to live in peace and security in our own land; which never did, and by the strength of our own right arms, never shall belong to negroes.

That we have a right to be protected against all nuisances.

That we have a right, and it is our imperative duty to adopt any measure for the purpose of preserving our race, pure and distinct as it was created.

That we have a right to labor for the support of ourselves and our families, without being subjected to the humiliating competition of negro felons, and renegade slaves.

Let any white man, who like the great majority of your memorialists, is obliged to obtain his bread by the sweat of his brow, be asked how well this right is enjoyed in a black neighborhood. He will tell you, that if he is employed in the same work with the colored man, he is subjected to constant in-

# THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. IV.] OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. [NO. 7.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.]

[SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1834.]

## SLAVERY.

[From the Rev. Mr. Phelps's Lectures.]

### WHAT IS SLAVERY?

It is somewhat difficult to give a definition which shall be brief—cover the whole ground, and yet be free from all objection. The best as well as briefest that occurs to me, is this: *Slavery is an assumed right of property in man; or, it is the principle, admitted in theory and acted on in practice, that in some cases, each individual being his own judge in the case, it is lawful to hold property in man.*

To prevent misunderstanding, I will explain a little. I say, 'it is the principle,' &c. because the essence of all oppression lies in principles of oppression, rather than in their action. It is not this or that particular act of cruelty which constitutes oppression. Such particular acts become oppression only as they involve or are the acting out of some general principle, which, admitted as a principle of action, not only gives rise to these acts, in a given instance, but opens the door for their repetition, and also for the infliction of innumerable other similar cruelties, at the mere discretion or caprice of the oppressor. It is the principle involved in such particular acts of oppression, which is the 'very head and front of the offending,' and which mainly constitutes the oppression in the case.

Whence arose the revolutionary war? It is true the three-penny tax on tea, and the stamp act, were the immediate occasions of it; but, after all, what was there in these worth contending for, aside from the principle involved in them? England claimed the right of taxing us at pleasure. She adopted this as a lawful principle of action. This constituted the head and front of her offending, and fraught as it was with untold evils to the colonies, it was resisted unto blood. The war of the revolution was a contest for principle. Had the principle in question been yielded, who could have set limits to the acts of oppression growing out of it? So also in our war for sailors' rights, the bone of contention was, the right of search and impressment. The mere fact that a few seamen had been injured and abused, was as nothing, aside from the principle involved. This, in common with that of the revolution, was a contest for principle, and the oppression resisted was the oppression of principle.

And further, whence the utter odiousness and the cruel oppression of the far-famed 'black law' of Connecticut? Not that Miss Crandall and a few colored Misses are subjected by it to certain shameful acts of cruelty and oppression. These are as nothing, comparatively, except as they involve principle; and the law, which allows and sanctions them, is itself comparatively harmless and innocent, except as it involves principle—principle which puts in jeopardy the rights of thousands. So in the present case; it is not this or that act of cruelty to this or that slave, which constitutes slavery. The question is not a question of treatment, one way or the other, kind or cruel. It is a question of principle.

What if many masters do treat their slaves kindly? That is not the question. Do they not treat their horses and their hounds with greater kindness? What if many masters treat their slaves with cruelty? This is not the question, except as such cruelty involves the principle of property in man, which, admitted as a principle of action, wrecks and withholds inalienable rights, and subjects its victims to untold acts of cruelty and oppression, at the mere caprice of an irresponsible master. The principle—the principle—the PRINCIPLE, that puts men, horses and hounds on the same footing; this is the head and front of the offending; this is the climax of the cruelty in the case; and no kindness, however great, can ever annihilate or make amends for it, save that which yields the principle and restores those wretched but inalienable rights.

Again, I say, 'some cases, each individual being his own judge in the case.' Because no man, not even the slaveholder, contends that slavery is lawful in all cases. All admit that it is lawful in some cases; that its existence is lawful—cases in which it is supposed there are some peculiar reasons for it. And then, all that is contended for even in respect to these peculiar cases, is, the exercise of discretionary power in the case. Give a man the liberty of holding his fellow men in bondage at his own discretion, and you yield him the fundamental principle of all slavery. Acting on this principle, he may hold him in bondage forever. Now it is this idea of acting discretionarily, that I meant to incorporate in my definition by the phrase, 'in some cases, each individual being his own judge in the case.' And I do it for the special purpose of anticipating objections. Jewish servitude, authorized, as it is said, by God himself, is often quoted as a triumphant refutation of the doctrine, that slavery in all cases, is a sin. Now in respect to this, and all similar examples, it is enough to say, if a man acts by express authority from God in the case; or if, as in the case of crime, &c., he is called by authority of government to decide and act as magistrate in the case; so be it. This is not acting as an individual, on his own responsibility, in the exercise of assumed discretionary power. It is not adopting or acting on the principle, that in some cases, the individual himself being judge in the case, it is lawful to wrest away or withhold inalienable rights; and is not, therefore, acting on the principle, which constitutes the essence and is the source of all slavery in practice.

And finally, by holding man as property, I mean holding him without any will or consent of his own, more than if he were a mere animal, or an inanimate thing, such as an ox or a hoe. I mean, moreover, holding him thus, when, like an item of property, he is guilty of no crime, by which, in the regular operation of equitable laws, his liberty has been forfeited.

Now whether this definition, thus explained, includes all that enters into the idea of slavery or not, is of little importance to my present purpose. Be this as it may, it includes, at least, the starting point whence all slavery originates—the fundamental principle on which it is based, and the sustaining principle by which alone its continued existence is secured. Had the principle, that it is lawful in some cases to hold man as property, never been admitted in theory, or acted on in practice, there had never been a slave, and slaveholding had never existed. Were it to-day to be universally denied in theory and in practice, every fetter would be broken, every slave go free, and all slaveholding cease. All slaveholding in practice begins with the admission in theory, that in some cases, for particular reasons, the individual himself being judge in the case, such slaveholding is lawful; and it is continued in practice by the virtual, if not professed admission in theory, that in some cases, for particular reasons, its continued existence is lawful. In a word, the single principle, that in some cases it is lawful to hold man as property, admitted as a correct principle of action, is the originating and sustaining principle of all slaveholding in practice.

[From the Christian Watchman.]

### VIEW OF SLAVERY.—No. 2.

In a former communication, I attempted, by a brief arithmetical calculation, to show that no hope can be indulged of the removal of the colored population of this country by means of the Colonization Society. I observed that, at a low estimate, if the period allowed for the work be 100 years, the annual expense cannot be less than six millions of dollars, and the whole expense 600 millions;—if the period were 25 years, the annual expense would be 12 millions; and, if the slaves be paid for, two millions more, or 14 millions a year, which sum is to be divided among one half the states, making for each state of this half, the annual expense of more than one million; and the whole expense of removal would be 350 millions of dollars—350 millions in 25 years. I may add that, of the 12 states which are to pay this sum, New-York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, in consideration of their superior ability, will be called on for a sum at least double the average tax; i. e. these states must pay about two and a half millions apiece annually, making for these three states, the sum of 187 and a half millions in 25 years.

A difficulty of another sort now presents itself. I recently read, in some paper friendly to Colonization, an apology for the large number of deaths which have occurred among the Colonists in Africa, which apology was, that, instead of the unhealthiness of the climate, the mortality was owing principally to the two great numbers sent out. I confess, this apology startled me; for the inquiry flashed across my mind, what would be the mortality, if instead of two or three hundred, there should be poured on the shores of Western Africa, 100 or 200 thousand a year? Perhaps, it is owing to some unfortunate hallucination of mind, that I cannot yet divest myself of the belief that one year of such experiment would cover the shores with the dead to a vast extent, and would terminate the enterprise.

I have seen an argument for transportation raised out of the fact, that one or two hundred thousand persons come to this country and settle in a year, and, therefore, a like number can be sent to Africa in the same time. But here again I am so unhappy as to believe, that it is a different thing to settle 100 thousand here, where our farms and factories, and workshops, and roads, and canals, and railways need their labor, from that of sending the same number of laborers out of the country, and settling them where no such opportunities for gaining a livelihood exist. It is easy to put a pint of wine into a barrel, but difficult to make the pint measure contain a barrel, though you shake it down.

Our friends of the Colonization Society may have the best intentions; but, if the thing they propose to do is impossible, they labor in vain.

Permit me to mention another difficulty which has arisen in my mind. It may be no real difficulty to others. It is a sentiment of Washington, expressed in his Farewell Address, a document I love to think of, that, 'in proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.' Again—It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge.

The difficulty to which I allude is involved in the question,—How shall one, two, five, ten hundred thousand colored people, sent to Africa in from one to five years, become qualified to govern themselves, or to take any considerable share in the government, while they are in so deplorable ignorance as not to be able, one to five hundred, even to read at all? They must be much more expert scholars than the whites, to qualify themselves with knowledge, while crossing the Atlantic. And their virtue and religion must surpass what belongs to most of our own citizens, if they can live without a somewhat energetic and enlightened government. Where, again, are the requisite teachers, literary and moral, who shall go with them to Africa, and instruct the hundreds of thousands to be landed there in five years?

Our fathers were educated in Europe and brought their learning with them, and their sound principles and habits of morality and their wealth, and had before them a goodly land to cultivate; and yet it was no easy matter for them to maintain good order and

establish a government on a solid basis. And are we to expect as much of unlettered slaves? The wise heads in our country may furnish them an excellent code of laws, but who shall enforce their observance? We are not without our difficulties in executing the good laws under which we live. Where is the African Congress? Where are the materials to fill the various higher and subordinate legislative, judicial and executive offices? Where are their literary institutions of every grade? and the men to fill their professorships? Where are their religious teachers? I mean, where are the materials for all these things; which are to be organized and put in operation at once, on such a scale as to meet the wants of not a few hundreds annually transported, but of a nation consisting of hundreds of thousands, who must be spread along the coast hundreds of miles, and back to some extent into the interior? A white man or two will not do now to man such a ship as this. If the colored population is to be removed in 25 years, there will be in Africa, at the end of that short period, more emigrants from this country than there were of white inhabitants in the United States at the time of the Revolution. Again,—a little traffic in gold dust and ivory and camwood, with the natives, will scarcely answer the purposes of such a nation's commerce.

A BAPTIST.

### A VOICE FROM NEW-BRUNSWICK, N. J.

At an Anti-Colonization meeting of the free colored inhabitants of New-Brunswick, N. J., held on Thursday evening, Dec. 5, 1833, the Rev. Samuel Demund was called to the chair, and Mr. William Riley appointed secretary. The object of the meeting was then stated by Mr. Thomas Van Ransselaer, after which Mr. T. G. Campbell addressed the meeting in a very appropriate manner. The following persons were then chosen to draft resolutions expressive of the sentiments of this meeting:

T. G. Campbell, Thomas Van Ransselaer, William Wycoff, Henry Campbell, and Ninus Tatin.

The committee after a few minutes' absence reported the following:

Whereas this meeting, appreciating as we do, our rights as free citizens of this land of liberty, our disinterested love and exertions for the welfare and prosperity of our people in this country; and witnessing, as we do, the active exertions of our white fellow citizens who favor the principles of colonization, to expel us from our native land, to the inhospitable shores of Africa, we solemnly appeal to the experience of those who have divested themselves of the cruel prejudice that exists in this country against the color of our skin, if it be necessary in order to obtain our rights that we should be removed from our native land. Therefore,

Resolved, That as we have been cast, in the course of Divine Providence, in these United States, not of choice, for our ancestors were forced into this country; we, their children, recognize no other home than this, wherein we were born.

Resolved, That we consider all attempts to colonize us, the free people of color in Africa, or any where else in creation, an example uncalculated for, from a Christian nation.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, those individuals denominated abolitionists deserve our unshaken confidence, and that the friends of the colored people in England, in their protest against the American Colonization Society, have expressed our sentiments in relation to that institution.

Resolved, That through the medium of the press, public sentiment can be corrected to a considerable extent, in regard to our rights and privileges as citizens; and that we will do all in our power to support those editors whose benevolence of heart has prompted them to advocate the cause of the poor and oppressed colored man.

Resolved, That William Lloyd Garrison deserves the confidence and support of the entire colored population of the U. States, for the masterly manner in which he has exposed in England that scourge of the free people of color in this country, and converted, as it were, a whole nation in a day.

Resolved, That the resolutions of this meeting be published in the two papers of this city, in the Emancipator of New-York, and the Liberator of Boston.

Fellow citizens, the time has at length arrived when we, as a people, and as individuals, are imperiously called upon, to come forward and prove to the world that we are men and brethren. Although two centuries have elapsed since some of our fathers were brought from Africa into the wretched fields of slavery,—yet we their children have not lost our love of liberty, our accountability to God, and our duty to this our beloved country. Having been thus drawn before the public through the influence of the American Colonization Society, we do not feel called upon to make any apology for the manner in which we have expressed our abhorrence of that institution.—Emancipator.

### FACTS.

An abolitionist sent Mrs. Child's 'Appeal' to a colonization family in this city for their perusal. A few days after, the head of that family, (a leading manager of the American Bible Society,) on meeting the person who sent the interesting volume, exclaimed—

'You do not know how much mischief you have done, by sending that book on slavery, for my wife and daughters to read. Why, they are all converted over to the abolitionists.' 'Ay,' said the other, 'I am glad of it; and the father too will become an abolitionist, if he will only read that book candidly and prayerfully.' 'What!' said the man, 'me?—I do not mean to be an abolitionist; I will not read the book.'

Remark.—An impenitent sinner once said, 'I am afraid to repent; because if I become a Christian, I shall have to give away a good deal of money.'

The head of another family, who is an officer in a Missionary Society, to whom the 'Appeal' was sent for a similar purpose, after the lapse of a week or two, returned the book. 'What do your ladies think of it?' asked the lender. 'Why,' said the other, 'it relates such shocking things, that they do not like to read it; they do not wish to have any thing to do with such a book.'

Remark.—This is like a surgeon refusing to amputate a limb, because it was so shockingly lacerated. 'Oh, sensibility—oh, la!'

A slaveholder returned a pamphlet that was sent to him, in which the sin and impolicy of slavery were set forth in a calm and argumentative manner, with the following words upon the envelope: 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is his.'

Remark.—'Out of thy own mouth will I judge thee, thou wicked servant.'

Emancipator.



I am your sincere friend,  
ELIZABETH DUDLEY.

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## BOSTON.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1834.

MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN.

DEBT OF THE HANDMAID OF SLAVERY.

\$46,000!

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## CONFESSIONS.

MADE AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

That less than 300 emigrants were banished in all

last year.

That the Ajax, (from that fountain of philanthropy,

NEW-ORLEANS,) with 150, lost 29 of them by

cholera soon after leaving port.

That the health of the colonists had suffered more

severely than heretofore, and the degree of mortality

was quite unusual. Of 619 emigrants who had ar-

rived last in Liberia, 134 had already died.

That the rice crop failed in 1832, not only in the

Colony but all along the coast, and the colonists

were very many of them reduced to a state of star-

vation.

That an unusually large proportion of the late

emigrants had gone out as paupers, and were unwill-

ing to betake themselves to agriculture.

That several families had been sent out who had

no male head to provide for them.

That commerce had had too many attractions, and

had caused the colonists to neglect the sure though

slower gains of agriculture. (1)

That a powerful sentiment—a great and growing

party, is forming against the Society in this country.

That the free people of color have become intensely

hostile to the Society, and will grow more and

more hostile.

That ship-loads of FREE VAGABONDS have been

sent to Liberia, who were coerced away as truly

as if it had been done with a cart-whip.

That God has so formed the people of color as to

subject them to many calamities.

That the Society has nothing to do with slavery

or slaves. (2)

That the man who claims title in his fellow man

in his bones and sinews and blood, shall be consid-

ered *prima facie* a sinner.

That the free people of color must go away, or

perish! (3)

That in Baltimore, (where the Genius of Coloniza-

tion presides,) colored persons are perishing for want

of daily food.

That the Colonization Society will take no new

position until slaveholders avow that they are deter-

mined slavery shall endure forever: (4)—a day

short of forever, or a period half way between now

and never, for its abolition, will answer.

That the Society stands in the breach for the man-

stealer to keep off the abolitionists.

That if it be put down, he can nowhere find an ally

or advocate, and the abolitionist will be upon him.

That God has never made one man to own

another. (5)

That abolitionists have told many wholesome

truths about the Society.

That the Society has been greatly LAMENTA-

TLY, WICKEDLY deficient in pity for the free

people of color.

That if suffering, sorrow, and unrequited toil ever

give title to a home, the title of the colored man to a

home in this country is beyond dispute.

That the Society has been degraded to a mere

drain for the escape of a nuisance.

That the man of color cannot be elevated in this

country.

That in Connecticut, the free black is, if possible,

more degraded than the slave population of the

south. (6)

That the Society owes it to itself not to remain a

silent spectator while the wildfire of abolition is run-

ning its course, but to interpose and save the mis-

guided immediately from the fatal effects of their

mad speculations; (7) nevertheless, let abolitionists

clamor—let fanaticism rage as it may.

That the people of color are writhing under the

seem of colonizationists and slaveholders; and it is

the mere effusion of a sickly sensibility to deprecate

that which is driving them out of the country.

That there has been found in the operations of

the Society a manifest want of system, and consis-

tency, and efficiency—a total want of responsibility,

on the part of the colony and its agents, to the

Board of Managers.

That six or seven individuals control the opera-

tions and have the management of the Society.

That delegates, who are not officers of auxiliary

societies, have no constitutional right to appear at

the annual meetings of the Society.

That the Society cannot long exist as it now is.

That it is advisable not to send any emigrants out

the present year, unless under very special circum-

stances. (8)

That the merchants in the colony, (Devany, War-

ring, Russwurm, McGill, &amp;c. &amp;c. who have been

colonized by the Society until their names have be-

come a nuisance) have charged the Society an ad-

vance of 100 or 200 cent. IN TIME OF FAM-

INE.

That the colonial agent, in the course of four

months, drew upon the Society to an amount ex-

ceeding \$20,000, to defray the expenses of the col-

ony. (9)

That the Society is not only embarrassed, but

broke! (10)

For other confessions, see the speeches in the

preceding page.

(1) So much for the "luxurious harvests" in Libe-

ria, as trumpeted by the Secretary of the Vermont

Colonization Society!—By the phrase commerce,

the reader is not to understand a large and liberal

trade, but a petty barter between the colonists and

the natives, consummated by an exchange of rum,

muskets, spear-pointed



